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NOTES ON THE ICONOGRAPHY OF WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

By EDWARD SPEYER

SINCE the appearance of my article "Mozart at the National Gallery" in the *Burlington Magazine* (No. 156 vol. XXVIII, March 1916) my attention has been drawn to an extensive notice of Mr. Dent's admirable book "Mozart's Operas"¹ in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of Feb. 3rd, 1913, from the pen of the late M. Teodor de Wyzewa, himself the author in co-operation with M. G. de Saint-Foix, of a new work on Mozart² of which so far two volumes only, covering the period 1760–1777, have appeared. In these volumes the writers profess to treat their subject by a scientific and critical method of their own, on lines different from those adopted by Jahn, and by Köchel, in those monumental publications of theirs which have hitherto been recognized as the standard works on Mozart's life and creations.

M. de Wyzewa begins his otherwise appreciative article by taking exception to the date assigned by Mr. Dent to the portrait of Mozart [Plate 5] which figures as the frontispiece of his book and proceeds as follows.

Translation of M. Teodor de Wyzewa's Article in the Revue des Deux Mondes, of Feb. 3rd, 1913.

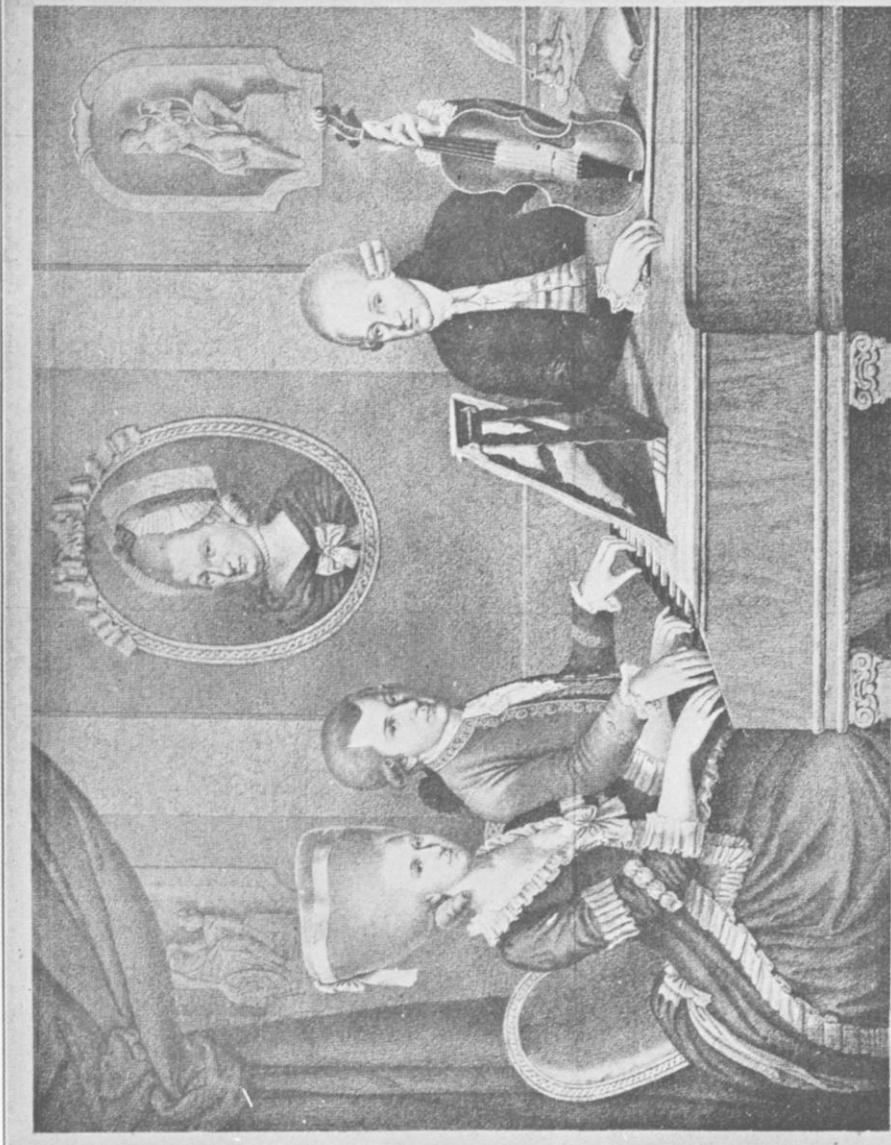
Mr. Dent's very interesting new work unfortunately opens with an error which is anything but new—a mistake characteristic of what I am tempted to call the incorrigible professional credulity of writers on music For Mr. Dent has used as the frontispiece of a large volume a reproduction of a portrait of the master which was left by Mozart's widow to the Mozarteum in Salzburg: Mr. Dent puts a note under this portrait stating that it was painted by the actor Joseph Lange 'in 1791', the very year of Mozart's death.

Clearly only the interest attaching to the date of this portrait which would thus give us a clue to Mozart's appearance at the time the "Magic Flute" was written, can have justified Mr. Dent in his own eyes in giving the place of honor to such mediocre painting, the work of an amateur, ranking far beneath many other portraits equally authentic.

¹"Mozart's Operas," a critical study by Edward J. Dent, London: Chatto & Windus, 1913.

²W. A. Mozart, sa vie musicale et son œuvre de l'enfance à la pleine maturité (1756–1777). Essai de biographie critique. Paris: Perrin, 1912.

Plate I



Mozart, aged 24, with Marianne, his sister, and Leopold, their Father

By J. N. De La Croce, 1780
(From Nissen's Mozart Biography)

It is true that the catalogue of the Mozarteum, on the strength of some ancient testimony, gives this date to Lange's portrait; but it is surprising that with all his intimate knowledge of Mozart and his work during the last year of his life, the English writer should not have perceived at once the impossibility of taking such an affirmation seriously. In the first place Mr. Dent shows us, with good reason, that in 1791 Mozart was utterly tired out and exhausted: and in point of fact, it was probably of old age that this man of 36 died How then can we admit this to be a portrait of Mozart done two years after Tischbein's admirable portrait, which shows him in all the sombre splendour of his maturity? How could Mozart have recovered in 1791 the fresh and delicate juvenile beauty, which the Salzburg sketch reveals?

To this first objection, more or less theoretical, perhaps, may be added a second—a positive one. And it is incomprehensible how this could have escaped Mr. Dent's fine critical observation. Not only does the portrait which he has placed at the opening of his book represent a Mozart far too young to permit us to recognise in him the prematurely aged author of the "Magic Flute," but in addition we know most certainly that this portrait was painted by Joseph Lange, not in 1791, but in 1782, on the morrow of Mozart's marriage, that he painted a portrait of Mozart's wife at the same time, and that Mozart sent the two sketches to his father together with other peace offerings in his attempts to obtain his severe parent's pardon for the unpardonable folly he had just committed. We know this through Mozart's widow, who had the two portraits lithographed in 1828 and published them in the large volume which her second husband, the chevalier de Nissen, dedicated to the memory of his illustrious predecessor.

Like all those before him who have accepted without control the Mozarteum catalogue's fabulous assertion in that question, Mr. Dent must have noticed opposite p. 464 of Nissen's Biography of Mozart, the faithful reproduction of the upper part of this portrait (the only portion properly finished) alleged to have been done in 1791, placed there among the letters in which Constance Weber's young husband was trying every ingenious means of appeasing the paternal wrath.

In an introduction to his own two volumes on Mozart's musical life M. de Wyzewa states that they are the fruit of ten years' patient and conscientious study of every source and document relating to such of Mozart's compositions as are dealt with therein; and after a perusal of the work I see no reason why his assurance on that point should not find willing acceptance. It is, therefore, all the more to be regretted that the late author apparently did not see fit to adopt the same method in regard to the *Iconography* of Mozart. Had he done so he would assuredly have refrained from making the statements above quoted which, I am sorry to say, will not survive the test of accurate research.

In order to prevent erroneous theories thus put forward by so well-known and brilliant a writer from finding acceptance, and at the same time to discuss and to endeavour to throw new light on

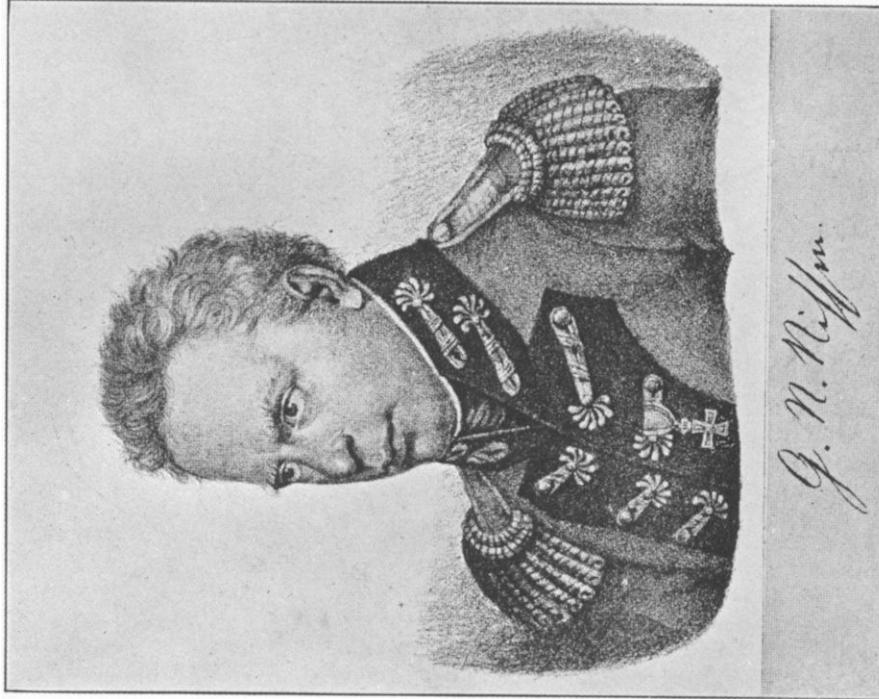
Plate II

A



Constanza, Mozart's wife
(From Nissen's Mozart Biography)

B



Georg Nikolaus von Nissen
Second husband of Constanza, Mozart's widow
(From Nissen's Mozart Biography)

certain points which in my opinion have hitherto been either neglected or wrongly treated by other writers on the subject, I propose to make in the present article a study of the Iconography of Mozart, limited to the Master's adult age, which I think I may claim to be based strictly upon technical examination and historical and documentary evidence. For the sake of those not intimately acquainted with the subject it will be necessary, first to mention briefly some of the principle publications giving information of one kind or another on the Iconography of Mozart and in particular those, like Nissen's "Life," and the Catalogue of the Salzburg Mozarteum, that are specially referred to by M. de Wyzewa.

I. NISSEN'S LIFE OF MOZART.¹

George Nicolaus von Nissen (1761–1826), Danish Councillor of State, came to Vienna in 1797, six years after Mozart's death. He there represented his country as Chargé d'Affaires, and made the acquaintance of Mozart's widow (1763–1842) in whom he henceforth took a great interest, assisting her in her precarious situation, and eventually marrying her in 1809. Retiring from the State service in 1820, he settled at Salzburg and devoted the remaining years of his life to writing a Life of Mozart for which the mass of authentic material his wife was able to put at his disposal, proved of great importance. He died, however, in 1826, and before the completion of his work which was eventually published by his widow in 1828. Nissen, as the book shows, was an honest, wellmeaning, painstaking, and industrious writer, but altogether deficient in scholarly and scientific training. The "Life" contains the following lithographic illustrations:

1. *Portrait of Nissen*, characteristically doing duty as frontispiece in accordance with the widow's "Directions to the Bookbinder" to be found at the end of the book. [Plate II B].

2. *Portrait Group* [Plate I], after the oil painting, 55 by 65 in., by J. N. de la Croce (1736–1819), painted at Salzburg in 1780, representing Wolfgang Mozart at the age of 24, together with Marianne, his sister, and Leopold, his father, the portrait of the mother, who was dead by that time, being shown hanging on the wall. (Mozart Museum, Salzburg).

3. *Portrait of Mozart "as a boy of 7"* [Plate III C], in the gala dress presented to him by the Empress Maria Theresa in Oct. 1762, in Vienna. After an oil painting, 81 x 61 c.m., by an unknown artist. (Mozart Museum, Salzburg).

4. *Portrait of Mozart "in his manhood"* [Plate IV]. Author unknown.

5. *Portrait of Constanze, Mozart's wife*. [Plate II A]. Author unknown.

¹Biographie W. A. Mozarts, von Georg Nicolaus von Nissen, nach dessen Tode herausgegeben von Constanze, Wittwe von Nissen, früher Wittwe Mozart. Leipzig: G. Senf, 1828.

6. *Portrait of Mozart's two Sons:* Carl (1784–1858) and Wolfgang (1791–1844) Plate III D]. After an oil painting, 70 x 56 c.m., by Hans Hansen. (Mozart Museum, Salzburg).

7. *Illustration of Mozart's ear.*

8. *View of the house in which Mozart was born.*

A list is also given, drawn up in somewhat haphazard fashion, of representations of Mozart then existing: monuments, medals, busts, and engraved portraits almost exclusively posthumous productions; followed by the statement that “the widow possesses several portraits of his painted in oils at different periods of his life.”

II. JAHN'S LIFE OF MOZART:¹

In the original editions of this great biography, which will doubtless always rank as the standard work on Mozart's life and works, and as a model of musical and artistic biography, the Iconography does not receive special treatment, but valuable information is given on a few points which I shall mention later. The later editions, published after Jahn's death (1869) and edited by Prof. Deiters, contain, indeed, a chapter on the Iconography but this is based on well-known sources, and contains hardly any illustrations, and, therefore, requires no special reference here.

III. THE CATALOGUE OF THE MOZART MUSEUM (MOZARTEUM) AT SALZBURG.²

This, though unillustrated, and hardly commendable for scholarly writing, yet gives some valuable information in reference to local traditions concerning the Mozart family and to certain portraits of Mozart, left by his widow his sons and others to the Museum which was founded in 1842 and installed in the house of Mozart's birth, and contains a vast assemblage of portraits, autographs, and relics of all kinds of Mozart and his family.

IV. MOZART PORTRAITS BY E. VOGEL.³

This essay by the late Dr. Emil Vogel, Director of the “Peters Musical Library” at Leipzig, is the first attempt at an exhaustive study of Mozart Iconography. Adequately illustrated, it gives evidence of patient, scholarly work, and a competent scientific method which make it a valuable guide.

V. LETTERS OF MOZART AND HIS FAMILY BY DR. SCHIEDERMAIR.⁴

A very important work, as far as the first 4 vols. are concerned, which for the first time gives a complete collection of the letters of Mozart

¹Otto Jahn: W. A. Mozart, 1st Ed., 4 vols., 1856–1859. 4th Ed., 2 vols. 1905. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Haertel. English Translation, by Miss Pauline Townsend, 2 vols. London: Novello.

²J. E. Engl. Katalog des Mozart-Museums, 4th ed., Salzburg 1906.

³Mozart-Portraits von Emil Vogel, Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters für 1899. Leipzig; Peters 1900.

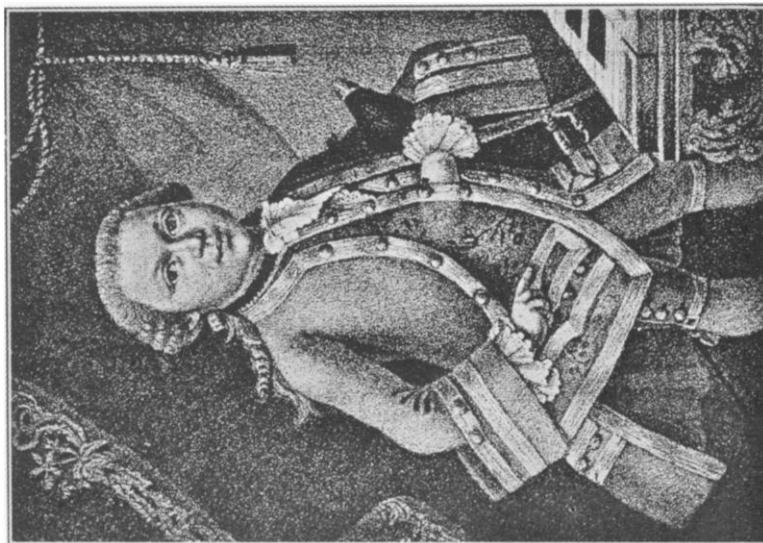
⁴Die Briefe W. A. Mozarts und seiner Familie. Erste kritische Gesamtausgabe, von Ludwig Schiedermair. München: Georg Müller 1914.

Plate III

D



Mozart "as a boy of 7"
(From Nissen's Mozart Biography)



Mozart's Sons, Carl and Wolfgang
(From Nissen's Mozart Biography)

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and his family, edited from the originals on strictly critical lines. This work contains much sound scholarship, and altogether surpasses Nohl's,¹ and all other prior publications of the kind. I would like to say the same of the 5th vol. which is entirely devoted to "Iconography," and contains a large number of illustrations of the portraits of Mozart and his family and contemporaries, and of autographs, documents, and objects and localities connected with Mozart. But here, at any rate as far as portraiture is concerned the author does not seem to have attained sufficient technical mastery of his subject to enable him to form an independent opinion. To the unfortunate results of this I shall presently have to draw attention.

I can now return to the subject of these notes, *The Portraits of Mozart in his manhood*. Of these the following four portraits claim serious consideration, as we have documentary proof that they were done from the life:

(1) *Portrait Group in oils*: [Plate I] by J. N. de la Croce, representing Wolfgang Mozart at the age of 24, already described above (see page 177).

(2) *Silverpoint Drawing*: [Plate VI] 3 x 2 in., at the age of 33, done during Mozart's stay in Dresden in April 1789, by Dora Stock. (Peters' Musical Library, Leipzig).

I consider this portrait to be by far the most authentic and life-like representation of Mozart, both on account of its known history and also because of its artistic excellence. It has every mark of a true and characteristic portrait and is of outstanding importance in the whole of Mozart's iconography. For in April 1789, on a journey from Vienna to Berlin, Mozart made a stay of six days at Dresden, where he was a frequent guest in the house of Gottfried Körner, father of Theodor Körner, the poet. It was here that he sat to Körner's sister-in-law, Dora Stock (1760–1832), a distinguished artist much appreciated at the time, who drew his portrait in silverpoint on ivory cardboard. At the back of the portrait are inscriptions showing that it was left by Körner's wife to the author and poet F. Förster, and by him to his adopted son, Karl Eckert (1820–1879), the well-known musician and conductor, after whose death it finally passed to the "Peters' Musical Library" at Leipzig. It seems to have been published for the first time as late as 1858 in an engraving by E. Mandel.²

(3) *Boxwood Relief*: [Plate VII E] 3½ x 2 in., at the age of 33, by Posch, a well-known Austrian medallist of the time, said to have been

¹Ludwig Nohl: *Mozarts Briefe*: 1st ed. 1856, 2nd ed. 1878. English Translation by Lady Wallace, London, Longman, 1865.

²Vogel, Op. cit. p. 28 f.f.

carved during Mozart's stay in Berlin in May 1789. (Mozart Museum Salzburg).

This somewhat conventional, unconvincing, but decorative relief has served as the model for the majority of the numberless existing Mozart portraits, and was for many years popularly regarded as the most typical representation of the master until numbers 2 and 4 in this list became more generally known through reproductions.

(4) *Unfinished Portrait in oils*: [Plate V] 13 x 11½ in., at the age of 35, by Joseph Lange (1751–1831), Mozart's brother-in-law, in Vienna, painted early in 1791, the year of Mozart's death. (Mozart Museum, Salzburg.)

This ranks next in importance to No. 2 in this list and was always greatly valued by Mozart's family. It appears to be an individualistic and faithful rendering of Mozart's features. I will give further particulars about it later on. In addition to the above four portraits I shall have to refer to the following three as illustrating important points in this investigation.

(5) *Lithographic Portraits*, 3 x 2 in., unsigned, of Mozart, at the age of 26? [Plate VIII G], and of Constanze, his wife, at the age of 19? [Plate VIII H]. (Municipal Museum, Carolino-Augusteum, Salzburg).

(6) *Medallion-Relief*, [Plate VII F] 2 x 1½ in., at the age of ? Author unknown. Forming part of a steel belt-clasp. (Baroness von Grünhof).

(7) *Portrait in oils*, [Plate IX], unsigned and undated, attributed to A. W. Tischbein (1734–1804), said to represent Mozart, and to have been done during Mozart's stay at Mainz, in Oct. 1790, when he was 34. (Herr Johann André, Offenbach). The original, of which only the upper part is reproduced here, is a three quarter portrait measuring 27 x 21 in.

I will deal first with No. 4 *The unfinished Portrait in oils*, by Joseph Lange, the subject of M. de Wyzewa's strictures. This portrait [Plate V], is exhibited in the *Mozarteum*, at Salzburg, in the catalogue of which it is described as follows:

No. 36, W. A. Mozart (1756–1791). Oil painting, unfinished; three quarter facing to the left, 32 x 28 c.m., by Mozart's brother-in-law, the Court-actor Joseph Lange. Commenced about 5½ months before July 1791, the time when the composition of the *Zauberflöte* was begun. Mozart is sitting at the pianoforte; the head is fully executed, the dress and the pianoforte being only sketched in pencil. This original portrait was in the possession of Mozart's son Carl (1784–1858) who left it by will to the *Mozarteum*. It seems to show signs of the beginning of Mozart's illness.

M. de Wyzewa disputes the date 1791 (the year of Mozart's death) assigned to it by the Museum Catalogue on the ground as

he says of some ancient and unknown testimony. Seeing that the picture came to the Museum by direct inheritance from Mozart's son, it can surely be safely assumed that this date and the circumstantial account of the time of its painting can only have been given on the strength of some authentic record.

M. de Wyzewa also describes the portrait as the mediocre painting of an amateur. It seems hardly fair to characterise Joseph Lange, Mozart's brother-in-law, in this fashion, for we learn from his autobiography¹ that he showed an early gift for drawing, and became a pupil of the historical painter Schleyer in Würzburg. In 1770 he went to Vienna, and was admitted to the Academy of Arts, then newly founded by the Empress Maria Theresa, as a pupil of its first director, Jacob Mathias Schmutzler (1733–1811), a distinguished artist whose name is still to be found in most of the Dictionaries of the present time, who seems to have taken a special interest in Lange, procuring him in 1773 a commission to paint an altar-piece for the Prince of Dietrichstein. It is true that at an early date Lange gave up painting for acting, a career in which he achieved considerable success during the remainder of his life, but he continued, as we shall presently see, to practise portrait painting occasionally for the benefit of his family and of others.

M. de Wyzewa continues:

It is well known that in 1791 Mozart was utterly tired out and exhausted. How then can we admit this to be a portrait of Mozart done in 1791, two years after Tischbein's admirable portrait of 1789 [Plate IX] which shows him in all the sombre splendour of his maturity? How could he have recovered in 1791 the fresh and delicate juvenile beauty revealed to us by the Lange portrait?

It is astounding both that M. de Wyzewa should thus describe the Lange portrait, [Plate V] which so evidently exhibits the signs of illness and exhaustion, and also that for purposes of comparison he should laud in glowing terms the socalled Tischbein portrait, [Plate IX] which, for reasons which I shall give presently, has long ceased to be recognised as a portrait of Mozart at all!

We know for certain M. de Wyzewa declares, that this portrait of Mozart was painted by Joseph Lange, not in 1791, but at the time of Mozart's marriage in 1782, together with that of his wife, and that Mozart sent these two *sketches* to his father. We know this from Mozart's widow, who in 1828 had these two portraits lithographed, [Plate IV and Plate II A] and published in Nissen's biography; and nobody

¹Die Biographie des Joseph Lange, K.K. Hofschauspieler, Wien, P. Behms Witwe, 1808.

can fail to perceive that the lithographic portrait in the biography [Plate IV] is the faithful reproduction of the upper part of the painting [Plate V] alleged to have been done in 1791.

The two portraits of Mozart and his wife here spoken of appear, indeed, in Nissen's biography, as will be seen from the list of illustrations contained in it given by me above [Plate IV and Plate II A], but no single reference, either by Mozart's widow or anyone else, as to their authorship, origin, or date of production, can be found in Nissen's biography! Nor is it permissible to describe the lithographic portrait of Mozart of the biography [Plate IV] as a faithful representation of the upper part of the oil painting [Plate V]. For, though the former is evidently based upon the latter, there is this marked difference between them: that the lithographic portrait shows a head erect and an aspect of good health, whilst in the oil painting the head is inclined and shows unmistakable signs of illness and exhaustion. M. de Wyzewa, by persisting in speaking of these two portraits as of one and the same thing has, in fact become involved in a labyrinth of confusion and error from which I shall now make it my task to extricate him.

In a letter dated Vienna, April 3rd, 1783, Mozart, who in August of the previous year, then aged 26, had married Constanze Weber¹ against the wish of his father writes to the latter in Salzburg:

Herewith also the two portraits [of himself and his wife]. I only hope they may satisfy you. Both appear to me to be good likenesses, and all who have seen them are of the same opinion.

Of these portraits, which may be assumed to have been done after Mozart's marriage in 1782, both Jahn² and Vogel³ speak as "Miniature Pictures" (*Miniaturbilder*), adding that after the death of Mozart's father, Leopold, they came into the possession of his sister, Marianne, who kept them till her death, in 1829, when they disappeared. Both authors omit to state the source from which this information is drawn. I find, however, that in a letter dated Salzburg, July 2nd, 1819, to Dr. L. von Sonnleithner, in Vienna⁴ who had asked her for information about the portraits of Mozart, Marianne⁵ writes:

¹Constanze Weber, born 1763, married Mozart 1782, widow 1791, married Nissen 1809, widow again 1826, died 1842.

²Jahn, 4th ed., II, p. 856.

³Vogel: *Mozart Portraits*, p. 28.

⁴Jahn, 1st ed., I, p. 227.

⁵Marianne Mozart, b. 1751 at Salzburg, m. 1874 Baron Berchtold zu Sonnenberg d. 1829 at Salzburg.

Plate IV



Mozart "in his manhood"
Lithograph
(From Nissen's *Mozart Biography*)

Plate V



Mozart, aged 35; by Joseph Lange, 1791
Oil; unfinished, 13 x 11½ in.
(Mozart Museum, Salzburg)

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The one painted when he returned from Italy is the oldest [in her possession]. He was then only 16, but as he was recovering from a serious illness, the face looks sickly and very sallow. His portrait in the family group [Plate I], when he was 22, is very good, and the *Miniature Picture*, when he was 26, is the latest of his which I possess.

Her statement that her *Miniature Picture* represents Mozart at the age of 26 indicates 1782 as the date, the year of Mozart's marriage, and there would thus appear to be a strong presumption in favour of its being one of the pair of portraits of Mozart and his wife referred to in the letter of Mozart to his father above quoted. This also seems to confirm that the two *Miniature Pictures* had been in her possession. What were they, and what became of them? That they are not likely to have come into the possession of Mozart's widow after Marianne's death seems established by our knowledge that after Mozart's death, in 1791, she and the widow remained entirely estranged. According to a letter of Marianne's of July 2nd, 1819, to L. von Sonnleithner.¹

she had received no letter from the widow since 1801, knew nothing of her two sons, and only heard from others of her second marriage with Nissen.

Vogel² assumes that the *Miniature Pictures* also were the work of Mozart's brother-in-law, Lange. This may have been so as it is on record that Lange was in the habit of putting his talent at the service of the members of the Mozart family generally. Thus Leopold Mozart writes from Vienna, to Marianne in Salzburg on March 27th, 1785:

The husband of Madame Lange is a painter and last night drew my portrait on red paper; this shows a perfect likeness and is beautifully done.³

Nohl also mentions and publishes a portrait sketch by Lange of the latter's wife, Aloysia Weber, Mozart's sister-in-law.

Jahn, as well as Vogel, maintains that both the *Miniature Pictures* are reproduced in Nissen's biography without, however, offering any proof which would warrant such a statement; he also fails to perceive that the one representing Mozart [Plate IV] is evidently based on the Lange oil portrait [Plate V] which both authors admit to have been painted in 1791.

On examining these two portraits, as reproduced by Nissen, [Plate IV and Plate II A], it becomes clear that they cannot originally have formed a pair as they both face to the left. The

¹Catalogue of Mozart Museum p. 5, f.f.

²Op. cit. p. 28.

³Nohl: Mozart nach den Schilderungen seiner Zeitgenossen, Leipzig, 1880.

appearance of Constanze, indeed, well accords with the age of 19 which she would have reached when the two *Miniature Pictures* were done in 1782.

As already mentioned the portrait of Mozart, however, is unmistakeably based on, or perhaps faked from the Lange portrait [Plate V]. M. de Wyzewa's contention that the original Lange portrait was painted in 1782, and was therefore one of the sketches, or *Miniature Pictures*, sent with Mozart's letter to his father, seems to be sufficiently disposed of by the fact that it is an unfinished oil painting of considerable size (13 x 11½ in.), that on comparing it with the well authenticated silverpoint portrait by Dora Stock of 1789 [Plate VI], representing Mozart at 33, it becomes impossible to assign to it a date which would make Mozart 26 when it was painted, and that the costume, mode of dressing the hair, and the record of the Salzburg Museum, all offer reasonable grounds for accepting 1791 as the date of its creation.

I have no hesitation, therefore, in declaring the Nissen portrait of Mozart [Plate IV] to be a *posthumous production*. To give my reasons for this it will be necessary to go into the history of the reproductions in Nissen's biography. In a letter dated Vienna, 17th Feb., 1802, Mozart's widow writes to Breitkopf & Haertel, in Leipzig, who at that time were in correspondence with her in regard to a Life of Mozart which they themselves intended to publish¹

I also mention for your information that Count Deym who some years ago, assuming the name of Müller, established an art gallery here, took a cast of Mozart's face immediately after death, and further, that the Court-actor, Lange, a very good painter, painted a portrait of Mozart in large size, but in profile, which painting he would probably be able to convert into a perfect full faced likeness with the help of the cast, the more so as he knew Mozart intimately.

We have here a direct reference to the Lange portrait, [Plate V]. The fact that the widow speaks of it in connection with the death mask, suggests the assumption that it was painted during the last period of Mozart's life, and was the latest portrait she possessed of him, and that it cannot, therefore, be one of the *Miniature Pictures* of 1782. But the passage also provides us with a clue to the intentions of the widow, entertained by her at that time already, to make it serve the purpose of posthumous reproduction.

Twenty six years later, when occupied with the final arrangements for the publication of the Nissen biography, the widow writes to Spontini, (1774–1851), at that time Royal Director

¹G. Nottebohm: "Mozartiana," p. 133, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Haertel, 1880.

Plate VI



Mozart, aged 33, by Dora Stock, 1789
Silver-Point, 3 x 2 in.
(Peters' Musical Library, Leipzig)

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General of Music in Berlin, who took a warm interest in her project, in a letter dated Munich, June 14th, 1828:¹

I have been here for the last four weeks, and through the kindness of the Chevalier von Cornelius shall have real works of art made of the lithographic reproductions of all the paintings in my possession which are to appear in the 'Mozart Biography'. This great man, who, out of veneration for Mozart, and also for yourself my friend, received me with the greatest joy, is now making every endeavour to help me to make the illustrations as fine as possible so as to make them worthy to appear in the 'Biography.' Indeed, he assists with his own hands.

The matter is also referred to in an entry of Dec. 22nd, 1828, in her "Diary," which has only quite lately come to light, and been published.²

With these lithographic reproductions of the Nissen biography before us [Plates IV and II A], it is difficult to decide whether they eventually fulfilled the widow's expectation of their turning out "real works of art," and it is not possible to ascertain whether the modification of the Lange portrait here reproduced [Plate IV] was the handiwork of Lange himself, or of Cornelius, or someone else. The participation of so great a master as Peter von Cornelius (1783–1867) may have been limited to good advice to the widow.³ Whatever the facts here, let us examine into the motives which decided the widow to choose this particular portrait to represent Mozart in the "Biography." In my opinion she must have refrained from using either the *portrait in the family group of 1780*, [Plate I], or the *Posch Boxwood Relief* [Plate VII E], (these were the only two authentic portraits of Mozart as a man she had to choose between at that time) because for her neither of the two possessed those qualities of actuality and characteristic resemblance which, as her letter of 1802 to Breitkopf proves, she attributed to the unfinished Lange portrait. The latter moreover, being the latest of the portraits, would appeal more immediately to all those who had preserved personal recollections of the master. The strongest reason of all, however, appears to me to be that what is unquestionably the most lifelike of all the Mozart portraits, the *silverpoint drawing of 1789, by Dora Stock*, [Plate VI] was *unknown* to the widow! Ever since its completion it had remained in private possession, in Dresden, and became generally known

¹Catalogue of Mozart-Museum at Salzburg, 1906, p. 4, footnote.

²Dr. E. Brückner: "Tagebuch der Gattin Mozarts." Munich, J. Rosenthal, 1915.

³A lithographic reproduction from the Lange portrait, but fully completed, by E. Lehmann, which I have not seen, is mentioned by several writers as having been published by Hornemann & Erslev, in Copenhagen, a fact which suggests the assumption that it was produced by direction of the widow during her stay in Copenhagen, from 1810 to 1820, with Nissen, her second husband.

only as late as 1858, in which year an engraving of it was first published. On the other hand, the widow's objection to an exact reproduction of the Lange portrait can be easily explained on the ground that its pose, and the aged and morbid look on the face, would make it unfit for the purpose she had in view. Hence the changes made at her suggestion, the erect head, the attributes of youth, health and vigour, as we see them worked out in the modified portrait [Plate IV] which was now to do duty in the "Biography."

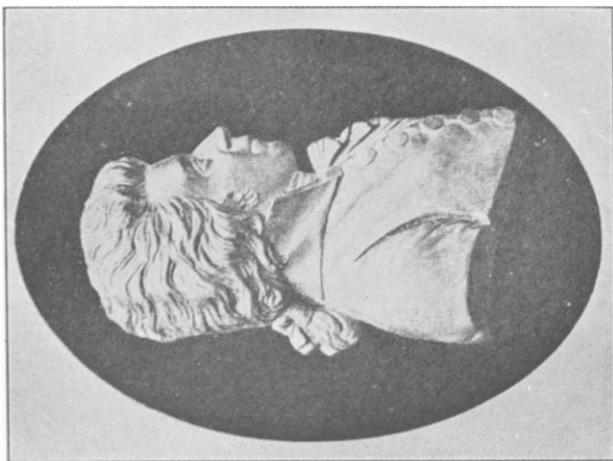
Resuming my account of the different portraits of Mozart's manhood, I now come to *Lithographic Portraits, 32 x 2 in., unsigned, of Mozart, and of Constanze, his wife* [Plate VIII G and Plate VIII H]. This pair of portraits, bearing no indication of authorship, is shown in the Municipal Museum, named the *Carolinus-Augusteum*, at Salzburg, (not to be confused with the *Mozarteum* there). It will be seen that the one representing Constanze, Mozart's wife, is identical with her portrait published in Nissen's Biography [Plate II A], and already referred to. That of Mozart, on the other hand, as far as I have been able to ascertain has remained unknown hitherto and was reproduced for the first time in the lately published work of Dr. Schiedermair¹ above-mentioned. These two portraits show such evident signs of having been produced by one and the same hand, and as a pair, and the ages of 26 in the case of Mozart, and of 19 in that of his wife, seem to accord so well with the appearance of the persons represented, that I am inclined to conjecture that we may possibly see in them the reproductions of the lost originals of the *Miniature Pictures* of 1782. Mozart's widow must, I think, have possessed lithographic copies of them, and she probably made use of the one representing herself for the reproduction of her portrait in Nissen's "Biography," whilst she refrained from doing so in regard to the portrait of Mozart for the reasons given above already.

Dr. Schiedermair in his volume on Mozart Iconography, curiously enough, omits to reproduce these two portraits side by side, and has preferred to place them far apart in his book and to put the portrait of Constanze together with the Lange portrait of Mozart of 1791 [Plate V]. Without troubling himself further in the matter, and on the authority of M. de Wyzewa, he is content to accept the Lange portrait as dating from 1782 and as forming, with Constanze's portrait, the original pair of *Miniature Pictures*. Dr. Schiedermair also speaks of the *Carolinus-Augusteum* lithographic Portrait of Mozart [Plate VIII G] as a "free copy" after

¹Op. cit., vol V, Iconography, p. 35.

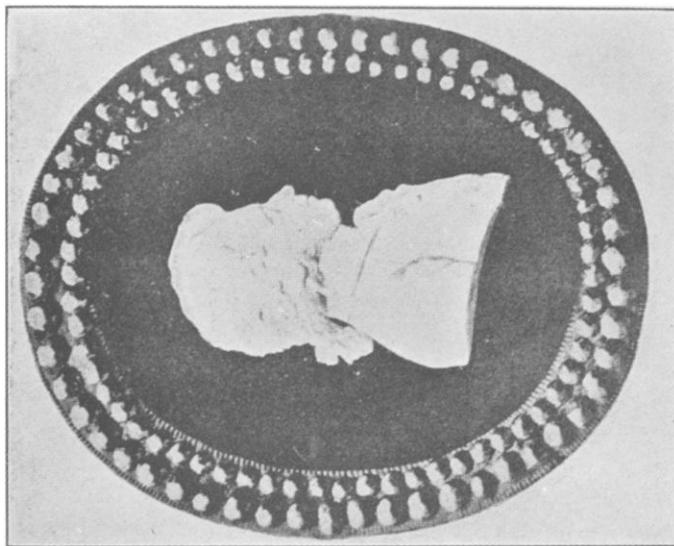
Plate VII

E



Mozart, aged 33, by Posch, 1789
Boxwood Relief, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2$ in.
(*Mozart Museum, Salzburg*)

F



Mozart, aged ? Author unknown
Medallion Relief, $2 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ in. Forming part of a belt-clasp
(*Baroness von Grünhof*)

the *Boxwood Relief*, by Posch, [Plate VII E]. I, myself, cannot see sufficient resemblance between the two to warrant such a statement. On the other hand, there seems to me to exist some affinity between this *Carolino-Augusteum* Lithograph [Plate VIII G] and a *Medallion-Relief of Mozart*, 2 x 1½ in., [Plate VII F] which was first published in 1897.¹

The original was in the possession of Mozart's eldest son, Carl (1784–1858), in Milan, who, in 1856, made a present of it to the Baroness von Grünhof, well-known formerly as the Prima-donna Frassini. Modelled by an unknown artist in a composition of gypsum and wax, it forms the ornament of a steel clasp which, according to his son, Mozart had made in Vienna for his wife, who used to wear it on a belt. Carl Mozart accompanied the gift with a certificate in which he declares the Medallion "to have been acknowledged by Mozart's family and friends to be without exception the most complete likeness of all the portraits of his in existence."

Mozart's widow also put this Medallion at the disposal of Schwanthaler, the sculptor of the statue of Mozart at Salzburg, declaring it to be the "most nearly resembling portrait of her husband."² Whatever value one may feel disposed to attach to such pronouncements as these, there remains the evident resemblance between this medallion and the *Carolino-Augusteum* Lithograph [Plate VIII G] which in my opinion may justify the assumption that the medallion was originally based on the *Miniature Picture of 1782*.

Finally we come to the socalled *Mozart Portrait by Tischbein* [Plate IX]. This oil painting, three quarter, 27 x 21 in., *unsigned and undated*, was found and acquired in Mainz in 1849, by C. A. André, of the well-known music publishing firm of Offenbach. It was said to have been painted in October 1790, in Mainz, where Mozart seems to have stayed a few days on the occasion of his journey, from Vienna to Frankfurt, for the coronation of the Emperor Leopold II, and its attribution to *Tischbein* was doubtless made merely in view of the fact that of the eight painters of that name, all of them contemporaries, *one*, Anton Wilhelm Tischbein (1734–1804), resided for the greater part of his life at Mainz. The assumption that the portrait represented Mozart was founded upon the declaration, which André had made before a notary by two contemporaries. Of these, one named Arentz of Mainz, a

¹Mittheilungen der Mozart-Gemeinde, in Berlin, Heft 4, Berlin 1897.

²Jahn, Op. cit., 4th ed., vol. II, p. 858.

former member of the orchestra there, declared in 1850, then in his 85th year,

that he had not only heard Mozart play *very often* at concerts in Mainz, given at the Prince Elector's palace, but had also known him personally.

That little credence can be given to this evidence is proved by the fact that Mozart, as we know from his letter to his wife, dated Mannheim, Oct. 23rd, 1790, played only *once* before the Prince Elector during his short stay at Mainz, "receiving miserable 15 carolins [about £14] from him."

The declaration of the second witness, one Schulz (a former court organist at Mannheim) made in 1851, is of even less value as it refers in the vaguest terms to a pretended recollection of Mozart during the latter's stay in Mannheim in 1777-78, 73 years before!

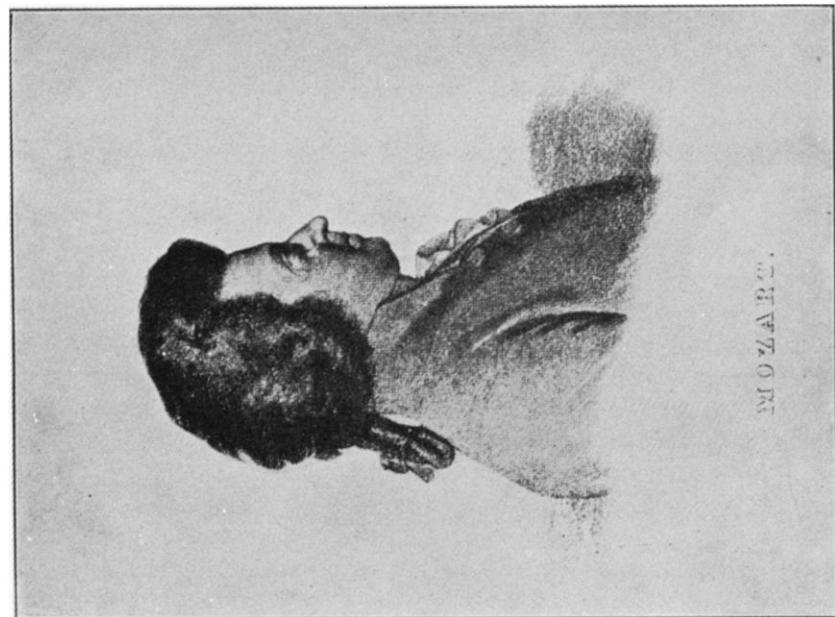
The "discovery" of this "new Mozart portrait," loudly and enthusiastically announced by André, created a considerable sensation at that time. This is not to be wondered at because, if genuine, the world would at last and unexpectedly have come into possession of a portrait of Mozart's manhood which in dignity, artistic quality, and size, by far surpassed any other known portrait of that period of his life.

Otto Jahn accepted it as genuine and had it published in his epoch making biography of Mozart which first appeared soon afterwards; it was also widely reproduced in engravings and other mediums, and a distinguished sculptor of that time, Schmidt von der Launitz, (1797-1869), whose model of the Acropolis is still shown in the Elgin Marbles room at the British Museum, made an attractive bust from it for the Frankfurt Opera House. I also well remember Rossini standing before a cast of this bust (now in my possession), at my father's house, in 1856, and with tears in his eyes beckoning to his wife to "come and look at our dear great Mozart who blessed us with his divine music and whom the world had left to starve!" About that time, however, Schnyder von Wartensee, the Swiss musician, who is known to have been acquainted with Beethoven in his youth sent a copy of the "Tischbein" portrait to Mozart's eldest son, Carl, with a request for his opinion as to its resemblance, and received from the latter the following reply, dated Salzburg, Sept. 17th, 1856:

Retaining, as I do, a lively memory of my father, I regret to say that of a truth I am unable to detect even the smallest trace of resemblance in the painting in question; so little indeed, that unless it could be positively proved that Tischbein's portrait was really intended to represent my father, I should presume that a mistake had been made and that

Plate VIII

H



Mozart, aged 26?

Unsigned Lithograph, 3 x 2 in.
(Municipal Museum, Carolino-Augusteanum, Salzburg)



Constanza, Mozart's wife, aged 19?

Unsigned Lithograph, 3 x 2 in.
(Municipal Museum, Carolino-Augusteanum, Salzburg)

it is that of an entirely different person. Even in things of a secondary order, such as the dressing of the hair, there is a total divergence from the habits invariably followed by my father.¹

As Carl Mozart was in his eighth year when his father died, his statement deserves consideration. But apart from this, a comparison between the "Tischbein" portrait and the two best authenticated portraits of Mozart at that time of his life, i.e., the Dora Stock drawing of 1789 [Plate VI], and the Lange oil painting of 1791 [Plate V] will make it evident that the "Tischbein" portrait has absolutely nothing in common with the other two. It shows a broad, square, massive build of head against the elongated, oval shape in the others, and an entirely different formation of both nose and mouth, whilst such characteristic traits as the protruding eyes, the double chin, and the hair hiding the ears, displayed in the two authentic portraits, do not appear in it at all.

What with the damaging verdict of Carl Mozart, and the opportunities of gaining better knowledge of Mozart's features afforded by the reproduction and publication of the Dora Stock and Lange portraits, which only began to make their appearance about that time, i.e., towards the end of the fifties of the last century, the spectacular fame of the "Tischbein" portrait gradually waned. Its claim to be a portrait of Mozart has been denied for the last forty or fifty years by all competent judges and writers, with the solitary exception of the editor of the modern editions of Jahn's biography, published since Jahn's death, in 1869. No doubt a misplaced feeling of loyalty has prevented him from differing from the illustrious author of that great work, but it is really deplorable that so brilliant a writer as the late M. de Wyzewa should have attempted to galvanize into life again a fiction long since disposed of and buried.²

It will be remembered that Mozart's widow, in a letter of Feb. 17th, 1802, quoted above, speaks of a *Death mask of Mozart*, and an account of its history may therefore, perhaps, prove to be of some interest. There is in Nissen's biography³ a letter addressed to him by Mozart's sister-in-law, Sophie Haibl, née Weber,

¹Vogel, op. cit. p. 31, f.f., and Engl's Catalogue, op. cit. p. 22, f.f.

²What was evidently a copy, or rather a fake, of this "Tischbein" portrait, (with a view of Salzburg 'put in' in the background, no doubt in order to lend additional probability to the make believe that it really was Mozart that was represented) was discovered and acquired in Paris in 1900, and went to the United States where it was enthusiastically described shortly afterwards. Its fame, however, as in the case of the original, remained a short lived one.—This portrait is in the possession of Mr. Henry E. Krehbiel.—*Ed.*

³Op. cit. p. 573, f.f.

in which, in describing the circumstances which occurred at Mozart's death, at which she was present, she writes:

After his death, Müller, the owner of the *Art Cabinet* (in reality Count Deym), came and took a plaster cast from his pale dead face.

Count Joseph Deym, an Austrian aristocrat, meeting with ill fortune in early life, had established in Mozart's time, in Vienna, a *Kunstcabinet*, with a collection of waxfigures and other curiosities. He was constrained in consequence to drop his title, and assumed the pseudonym of Müller. Mozart was acquainted with him, and composed some well-known and beautiful pieces for a "mechanical organ," one of the prominent attractions of the establishment. According to Nohl¹ an effigy of Mozart, modelled with the help of the death mask and wearing his own clothes, was shown in Müller's exhibition after Mozart's death, but nothing was known of what became of it.

Mozart's widow, as we have seen, possessed a cast of the death mask. Both Nohl² and the Catalogue of the Mozart Museum³ mention that in 1820, whilst she was dusting it, it fell down and got broken, and that she omitted to save the débris which might have been reconstituted. With this every trace of the death mask disappeared.

Of *Mozart's outward appearance*, Nemetschek, the author of the earliest biography we possess, published soon after Mozart's death, who had known him personally, writes as follows:⁴

The appearance of this extraordinary man was not at all remarkable; he was small, with an agreeable face which, however, with the exception of the large fiery eyes, did not impress one at first sight with the greatness of his genius. His look was unsteady, and vague, except when he sat at the pianoforte, when it changed into one of concentrated seriousness.

Whilst Nissen says:⁵

His eyes, rather dim and protuding, were large and well cut, with very fine brows and lashes. The head appeared too large for the body which itself, however, was well proportioned, as were his hands and feet. The nose was finely formed, and conspicuous for its length only whilst he was still thin, and during the first years after his marriage.

When we consider the large number of more or less important portraits existing of Mozart as a child, or youth, it may seem

¹Op. cit. p. 332.

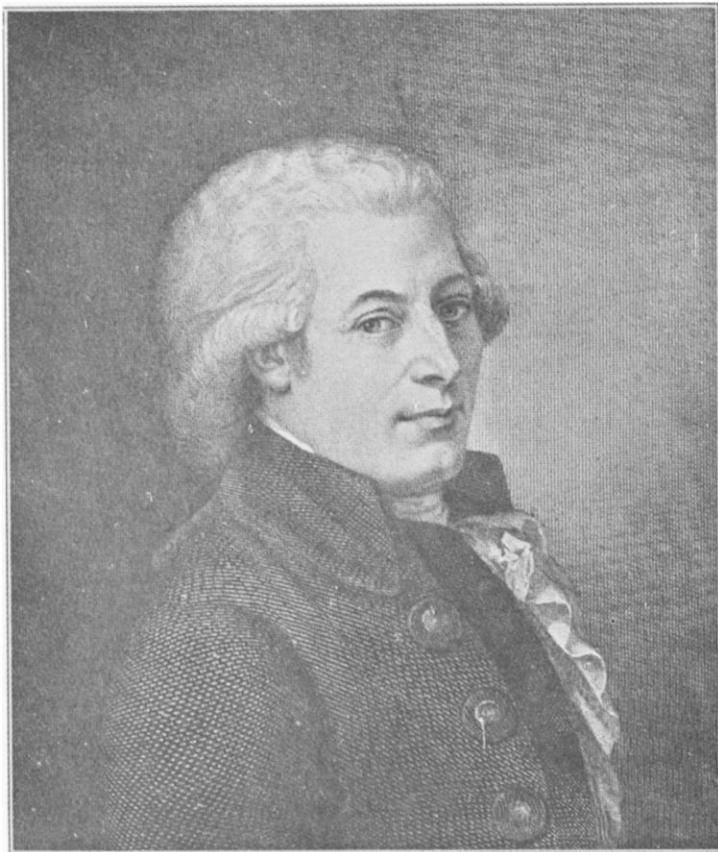
²Op. cit. p. 393 footnote.

³Op. cit. p. 34.

⁴F. X. Nemetschek: *Lebensbeschreibung des W. A. Mozart*, Prag, 1st ed. 1798, 2nd ed. 1808.

⁵Op. cit. p. 622.

Plate IX



Portrait, said to represent Mozart, aged 34; unsigned
and undated; attributed to A. W. Tischbein

Oil, 27 x 21 in.

(*Johann André, Offenbach*)

strange that we should possess so few authentic likenesses of him in his manhood, and that those which we have should be such comparatively inadequate productions as the unfinished oil painting by Lange, the silverpoint drawing by Dora Stock, and the boxwood medallion by Posch. It was only natural that many portraits should be made of the wonderful child who aroused such interest and curiosity in the course of his travels in his own country and through the greater part of Europe, and was hailed as the greatest musical prodigy the world had known. But by the time Mozart had grown into manhood and full mastership this interest in his person, the outcome of mere curiosity in something abnormal, had ceased to exist. Of Handel, Bach, Haydn, Gluck, and Beethoven, all of whom died past middle age, and not until their fame had been fully and widely established, we have numerous, adequate, and well authenticated representations, both in painting and in sculpture. Mozart, on the other hand, died young, and before his contemporaries had time to realize the greatness of his genius.

If to-day we are poor in the possession of images of his person, there is yet left to us the richer heritage of his glorious music of which it may be truly said that in course of time it has forfeited none of its pristine beauty, and we may add that in our own day the study of it has grown keener, the knowledge of it more intimate, and the appreciation of its supreme mastery higher than at any previous period during the one hundred and twenty-seven years since its immortal creator passed away.